744 668 Obviously the requirements for preparation of the reports grew ridiculous. This undue emphasis on detail, when one examines Chinese Communist statistical reports, seems to be a common failing of the bureaucratic mind. At times, the Chinese Communists themselves have criticized this frequent preoccupation with niggling details. An editorial entitled "On the Counting of Mosquitoes," which first appeared in the People's Daily (Organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), was later quoted by the New China Daily of Chungking.[13] The editorial states that acts as absurd as these should be regarded as the inevitable growing pains of a newly founded government during a period of national construction. Red tape and wasteful practices should be exposed; the value of self-criticism is not to be ignored. The editorial states, in conclusion, that both the weaknesses and strengths of Communist China should be carefully evaluated for the insight they will bring.

[13] 744 757 2. The southwestern provinces produce the majority of China's medicinal herbs. One of the principal tasks of the Chinese Communist health program was "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine."[14] The South-

13. Ibid.

14. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 922, pp. 42-43.

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744 west Region occupies a position of importance in the fulfillment of this aim. In 1952 a school [874] was founded in Chungking for the orientation of doctors trained in traditional medicine.[15] In 1953, a special committee was set up to take charge of a study of Chinese medicine under the Chungking branch of the China Pharmaceutical [878] Society. The committee reported that, among the 233 species of medicinal herbs in common use, 80 per cent were found in the Southwest Region.[16]

On the basis of recent reports, the attempt "to unite the strength of native and Western medicine" may not be progressing smoothly. During the National Conference on Cultural and Educational Work in Peking in 1955 it was reported that the conference criticized the "bourgeois" ideas of certain leaders in the Ministry of Health who were inclined to discriminate against and eliminate traditional medicine; the conference considered the attitude taken by the Ministry of Health toward traditional medicine a "very serious fundamental mistake."[17]

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15. New China Daily, Jan. 28, 1953, p. 3.
16. Ibid., Nov. 18, 1954, p. 2.
17. Survey of China Mainland Press, American Consulate-General, Hong Kong, No. 1068, p. 15.

744 In a joint convention in Chungking, a similar
757 criticism was voiced.[18] Although many traditional practices have proved to be effective, it still remains to be seen to what extent the use of medicinal herbs can be justified by modern science. It also remains to be ascertained whether this enthusiasm for traditional medicine on the part of the Chinese Communists is more than an evanescent interest.

744 The health of the people of a nation depends on many factors. Preventive medical care or even a lower infant mortality rate does not necessarily mean the general betterment of public health. Malnutrition as the result of an inadequate diet may offset whatever has been accomplished by vaccinations and inoculations. Since little information is revealed in Chinese Communist publications, on the diet and nutrition of the people, it is necessary to point out that while reports on health and sanitation improvements on the mainland of China should not be discounted, other factors must also be taken into consideration in the evaluation of the general health of the Chinese people.[19]

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18. Ibid., No. 1012, Supplement, pp. 4-5.

19. For medical education and health in schools, see chapter on Education; for health and sanitation in the factories and among industrial workers, see chapter on Labor.

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

To invite the spirit of the seventh virgin, *ch'i ku-niang* (七姑娘). She is said to be the seventh daughter of the Pearly Emperor, and is patronized by girls who want to know what kind of lot may be in store for them. The maiden who is inquiring sits with head covered while others burn incense and paper. 787

To look at the flowers, *kuan hua* (觀花). The girl who inquires for the others is set down in a quiet spot; others burn incense and candles to invite the spirit of the flower garden. She then goes in spirit and thus finds out under which tree the lot of her client is to be cast. If under the palm, fir, or soap trees, the lot will be a bitter one. If under the *kuei hua* the lot will be one of riches and honour. Under the camelia means happiness and peace; the cedar means long life and strength. The person who practises this art is paid for it by the clients.

To invite the spirit of the broom, *sao pa* (掃把) *shên*. The broom is put into a child's hands and the eyes blindfolded, paper and incense are burned and the spirit invited to help the child to sweep the floor. If the floor is not well swept, the child is beaten by the onlookers.

To invite the spirit of the earth bullock. Two youths are blindfolded and set down together. The spirit is invited and when it comes the two youths begin to knock each other's heads till some serious injury is inflicted. Eyes are knocked out, noses broken, and the youth is not infrequently injured for life. Parents forbid the practice, but it is still secretly done in secluded spots.

To invite the stool (*pan têng*, 板凳) god. Two children are blindfolded and set one at each end of a form to hold it down. The spirit is invited and when it comes the stool tilts up or turns round with the children sitting on it.

Ghosts.

Anathematizing the ghost, *chou hsiao shên tzŭ* (咒小神子), is done by such persons as the travelling fortune teller or the itinerant Taoist priest called a 遊方道士. He may go to a house on the excuse that he desires to tell a boy's fortune, 757 787

3: Hutson M-5 (no date) 1921 AF16 Southwest China AF16

757 for which purpose the horoscope is necessary. He mentally
787 carries away the particulars of the horoscope. The bark is then peeled from a growing tree, and the horoscope pasted on the bared part, and anathematized by him for forty-nine days, after which time the piece of the tree with the horoscope is gouged out and taken home, and a small idol made of it, which is also anathematized, till such time as the image speaks; at this juncture it is believed that the child dies.
754 This little idol is further worshipped and taught to do as it
791 is bid. It may even enter houses and steal for its master. Or it may be let loose in an enemy's house for revenge, intimidation or robbery. This last is practised by the following people:

Nuns (尼姑), *ni ku*, *Tao ku* (道姑); *hua ku* (花姑), embroidery women, who very seldom have husbands and are sometimes men in disguise; toothache witch doctors (牙婆), *ya p'o*, who pretend to extract the worm from a diseased tooth by way of the eye; *wen p'o* (穩婆) and *ch'ü shêng* (取生) *p'o*, midwives; or 藥媽媽, medicine mothers; *hsiang* (相) *p'o*, physiognomists; fortune tellers, *suan ming* (算命) *p'o*; and go-betweens in marriages, *mei* (媒) *p'o*.

754 The above classes, on entering a house, are sure to
775 make trouble. If they are meanly or harshly treated, they may let loose a ghost in the house, which will manifest itself in the following ways: short hair will be found in the rice-steamer, or filth of various kinds will find its way into the rice; reeds become transformed into darts and fly at people; the rope on which tobacco leaves are dried becomes a snake to bite the family; twigs become fire-darts to set the house on fire; a paper image steals the family property; tiles are pulled from the roof of the house in the night, or brickbats are thrown into the house in the night; the house is set on fire at any time, but specially in the night, or the shell of the bamboo sprout becomes a living being to frighten people; or they annoy by making the rooster crow at bedtime and the dogs bark all the night through.

Probably the cases are not large enough in number to draw definite conclusions from them. One thing, however, seems fairly certain. This is that, generally speaking, the men who have had experience with the outside world either as travellers or traders, or having read very much about it, or having had intimate contact with the ways of the outsider, tend to be more philosophical and detached about the prayer meetings. Some of them think that all outsiders regard such prayer meetings as superstitions and, in a tone of embarrassment, would not hesitate to brand them as such to the outsider, but in their relations within the community they have to remain faithful to the indigenous ways. 796 753 124

B. Other Measures to Combat the Epidemic

1. T'an Ching

The prayer meetings are not the only steps taken to ward off or conquer the epidemic. While the prayer meetings are being carried on here and there, other things happen as well. The first of these is T'an Ching, or ritual talk on the scriptures. The author is not clear as to the type of scriptures here referred to. On the platform where such exercises take place are the tablets or portraits of Confucius, Laotze and Buddha. The main event on this platform is the playing of music, both wind and string, by amateur volunteers. At intervals some read a kind of scripture which is usually Taoist and not Confucian. In one or two T'an Ching places the music consists of singing to the accompaniment of a three-stringed plucked instrument. They perform just like story singers. 751 782

In Area J, T'an Ching took the place of a prayer meeting. In Area H and Area P, it took place at the same time as the prayer meetings. In Area H, the T'an Ching platform is just back of the prayer altar, and in Area P it is opposite the prayer altar.

The explanation given for such T'an Ching meetings seems to be of two kinds: one is that the gods and spirits should be pleased, and to soothe them by some light music (Yu Yueh) is the best. The other explanation is more vague. Both T'an Ching and the prayer meetings are of the same effect - both for the good of the community. It is a gesture of man's repentance so that the gods will withdraw the Wen, or the epidemic, from the community. In more than half of the areas in which prayer meetings took place there were no T'an Ching meetings.

2. Volunteer Advertisements

Soon after the epidemic had started various hand-written or printed posters and advertisements began to appear in the streets. These are of two general categories - those giving actual medicine or methods of cure and those giving advice as regards the prevention of the disaster. The first kind is practically all medicinal and the second kind is mainly moral. Among the first category are either prescriptions for people to copy and then buy the medicine in any native dispensary, or notices of some ready-made mixture which will be given to applicants free of charge. The latter may be obtained from either a private home or a dispensary. The author has been able to collect different prescriptions and have them examined (1) from the point of view of modern medical knowledge with the aid of The Codex of Chinese Drugs(11) 203 757 278 278 757

(11) World Book Company, Shanghai, 1934.

278 757 and (2) by Dr. F. P. Shen, Professor of Medicine in the National Yunnan University, Kunming. Dr. Shen has also been kind enough to secure for the author the aid of an old Chinese physician (trained in the traditional manner) in identifying certain drugs.[1] The results of this examination are given in the appendix to this paper.

Certain observations may be made on these prescriptions. First, in six out of eight prescriptions we find the item Lophanthus rugosus (Hua Hsiang) (about six to ten grams). This medicine is boiled with other ingredients and the juice thus obtained is drunk. According to both the old Chinese physician and the Codex of Chinese Drugs this medicine is good for stopping vomiting and for improving the digestive function. The latter volume further indicates that the drug is also good for stopping diarrhea abdominal pains, and cholera. The second thing to be observed is that one of the prescriptions which has been considered by one village as most effective contains one item only (Alumen usta or dehydrated potash alum) (composition, $K\,Al(SO_4)_2$ (see Part I of Appendix, Prescription No. 2).

Now, according to Manson's Tropical Diseases (edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935), one treatment of cholera is as follows:

"Kaolin, or bolus alba, as an intestinal astringent in large doses absorbs toxins, thus rendering them inert. It consists of Kaolin, 200 grams (7 oz.) in 400 cc (14 oz.) of water. This is a single dose, but if there is vomiting it may be repeated and sipped in small amounts at a time" (pp. 448-449) (Composition of Kaolin: $Al_2Si_2O_7 \cdot 2H_2O$).

Dr. F. P. Shen informs the author that dehydrated potash alum (alumen usta) if used in the proper manner may serve the same absorptive purpose. He suggests however that in the local prescription the quantity of dehydrated potash alum is rather small (3.1249 gms.) and its dilution in a quantity of boiling water or soup will rather defeat its purpose.

Third, as regards the question of absorption. In the list which gives names of drugs required in two or more of the collected prescriptions we may find that at least seven drugs have to do with absorption, while seven drugs have the property of stopping vomiting or diarrhea. In another prescription which is considered most effective by the local people seven out of fourteen drugs have to do with absorption and eight have to do with stopping vomiting and diarrhea. This means that these drugs would at least be partially effective in beating down cholera. Fourth, some prescriptions are, from the point of view of modern medicine, irrelevent to the desired objective while others are detrimental to the prospect of cure. One example of the latter is the first prescription given in Part I of the Appendix. This prescription, while giving Chlorodynum (which is regarded by the modern physician as effective), also insists on the opening up of finger tips to let out blood (which Dr. Shen has been kind enough to inform the author may cause bad infection and render any further treatment of the patient by serum ineffective because of embolism.)

203 278 757 A word must be devoted to an extra advice contained in one of the posters. This is a prescription which includes Alumen Usta as one among fifteen other drugs, to be ground into powder and inhaled through the nostrils as well as taken in water. At one end of the paper the advertiser gives the following:

[1] [See p 52 -- Analyst]

"Those who are not sick ought to have anti-cholera injections, so as to prevent themselves from being infected." 203 278 757.

The poster is lithographed and the advertiser says that his prescription was received from an "unworldly man" (usually a fairy) in the middle of the late Ch'ing Dynasty when a serious epidemic broke out in Kwei Chow Providence. He also says that his prescription is good for "72 kinds of Sa illness as well as for Sheep-wool Sa, Wen, Spasmatic feet Sa, etc." He calls the present epidemic Sa, but in his extra advice to people not yet attacked he uses the modern term Huo Lan (translation for the term cholera). He signs himself, "An old man of later happiness".

The author has not succeeded in finding out the composition of any of the ready-made cures in powder form, given freely to applicants. The stuff is to be inhaled through the nose or taken in water by mouth. These ready-made cures and the prescriptions are very popular. In Area E the author once met six or seven old officers of the prayer meeting who had in their possession some such powdered drugs given by one of the advertisers. They told the author that they inhaled a pinch of it from time to time as a precautionary measure. 757 278

The moral type of posters is usually long. It begins by stressing the importance of good deeds. Then it points out that the God of Wen has descended upon the people on the noon of the Fifth of the Fifth Moon to scrutinize their behavior and will give blessing to those who are good and disaster to those who are evil-hearted. One poster announces that the advice given in it was written in person by Kuan Kung, the Wary God of Wealth and a historical hero of the people (meaning that the words were given by the god when the latter was ritually invited). It says that those who offer incense, read scriptures and keep to vegetarian diet on the first and the fifteenth of every Moon will be free from disasters. In another section of the same poster the author of the poster says that he who after reading what has been stated in the poster will print another ten copies and disseminate them to the public will free his family from the epidemic and he who will print and disseminate 100 copies to the public will free his district from the epidemic; but he who after seeing the poster will do nothing about disseminating it or letting other people know about it will die of vomiting blood. 203 757

The reason for the trouble and expense given to such posters and charity in drugs is not complex. It is conceivable that the dispensary which gives out a special cure freely during the crisis may earn a name for itself of advantage to its later business transactions, but in a local community where people know each other intimately such a commercial technique is rather superfluous. The real reason, as far as the author has been able to ascertain, is verbalized in an exaggerated form in the last sentences of the poster just mentioned. Such charity is a kind of good; it goes on to one's "otherworldly" record and will be one more security on one's prosperity and health. This is clearly related in psychology to a fact mentioned in connection with the prayer meetings: There it has been made clear that in combating the epidemic, goodness of the heart and in deeds is essential. To this point indeed most posters allude in a way. In one poster the advertiser addresses the public as "Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters". It is clear that the epidemic has in a way drawn the people closer to each other and revived the communal feeling.

203 757 A word is to be said about the sources of these medical and moral prescriptions. The moral ones are usually from some god who "spoke or wrote through a certain unsuspected medium, who lived in such and such a far away place" (only village name given, usually not checkable). The midical ones are of varied sources. One prescription states in the end thatit is from a famous medical officer in the army", but neither the name of the officer nor the name of the disseminator is given. Another poster is signed by a man named Wo and states that the prescription is taken from the Morning Post, Kunming. A third, which is signed by the "Old man of later happiness", as mentioned before, states that the prescription was received from a fairy in the middle of the Ch'ing Dynasty during a great epidemic in Kuei Chow Province. The other prescriptions state no sources, but on inquiring the author was again and again told by the man in the street, "it is handed down to us from our ancestors or since generations past."

3. Individual Precautions

751 So far we have dealt with measures that are more or less communal. There are other measures of an individual or family nature, which may or may not bear on the community as a whole. When the epidemic becomes noticeable, practically all families do one of two things: either hang a palm-shaped cactus stalk over the portal to the family home or stamp one or more hand prints on the gates and walls. The latter are secured by dipping the hand in decomposed limestone and then pressing the palm against the object on which the print is desired. The idea behind this practice is simple: The Chinese name for palm-shaped cactus is Fairy Palm, and since the epidemic is caused by evil spirits, the sign of hands of fairies or superior deities will be enough to scare the disease-causing spirits away. The line hand prints serve the same purpose. There is also a similar but less common practice of drawing a long line on the walls of each family in their entire lengths. The idea about this is not so clear, but vaguely it is also to scare the spirits away.

A second practice is to draw a semi-circle with lime powder connecting the two front lintels of the family portal. The author has not been able to ascertain whether the practice is of modern origin. Some of the local people who answered his query said that it was to keep out the spirits just as did the palm-shaped cactus stalks. Others said that it was the same idea as the spreading of lime powder in and around toilets in the missionary college and the hospital.

784 751 The third measure[1] is the automatic taboo on many varieties of food stuff. Food which is normally served in the streets and eaten cold, like pea-curd and bean-custard (not bean-curd) are not eaten at all because, the local people say, "they make the abdomen cold." For the same reason, any vegetable or fruit which is customarily regarded as "cold-producing" is also tabooed. The list of tabooed foods is as follows: potato (the price of which dropped all of a sudden from three dollars to fifty cents a catty), string beans, turnip, all sour fruit (plums in particular, because they are in season), confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish (the pious will not touch any meat or fish, even preserved [12]). Others are less stringent in their

(12) When a woman goes to prayers on one of the regular ritual days she will wash herself from hair to toe and will not touch meat or fish at all for the day. Not even to handle it.

[1] [against epidemic cholera -- Analyst]

744 784 moxa leaves, barley stalks, pine needles and some dirt swept up from the area in front of each family portal. When the twigs are lit the flame is stopped from shooting out by the other materials which are usually damp. This gives a thick smoke and a kind of fragrance which permeate the air.

As stated above, this smoking and the sweeping of streets are to clean up the area, not for human habitation but for the gods and spirits. They are thus means to a spiritual rather than bodily cleanliness. That this conception has nothing to do with modern ideas of sanitation may be seen from the fact that when a family woman goes to read scriptures or pray in a temple (a practice very common and frequent among elderly women in the entire district), she washes herself clean from hair to toes and will only touch meat or fish after the visit is over. She never takes a bath otherwise. When asked, a woman says that if she is not "clean" she will offend the gods or goddesses to which she is going to pray.

751 A fifth measure is the use of amulets. While the biggest cholera prayer meeting is taking place at Area H (Center of the town), each family secures an amulet (disseminated by individuals and obtainable at many native dispensaries) and hangs it on the family portal. Then on the fourth evening of the prayer the Wen God "inspects" the entire town and its surrounding villages in a procession consisting of regular policemen, buglers, guards and priests. The guards in this procession take down the amulet from each family portal as the procession passes by and hang it one by one on a driller-like thing in the right hand of the image of the god. They are then burned with the god and the dragon boat mentioned before. These amulets have the function of catching any Wen spirit which may attempt to dash into the family home. The Wen God, who had formerly let them forth, has thus collected them back. But there are other amulets and paraphernalia on family portals. Some of the family portals carry as many as five or six amulets from different sources. Practically all of them are bought from some priest at a price. A study of the elements contained in these amulets is not in order here. Suffice it to say that many of them are reiterations of the desired object (many amulets contain the characters Chieh Chieh, or relieving the disaster) while others write many times such characters as Sun, Fire, Water, Thunder, which usually represent the power to strike at evil spirits.

Following instruction of some priests, some families put one red flag on each lintel of the family portal as well. On both flags are written, "The heavenly priest protect us, diseases are wiped out", or "Fatal disasters vanish". The same ideas are then written on other pieces of red paper and posted on the gates and walls. One such paper says: "The heavenly priest is here, all evil spirits keep away." The families in one village particularly (Area F) hang straw dragons in addition to red flags of cloth on the lintels of their family portals. These, the villagers say, are for scaring away the Wen spirits, too. The presence of straw dragons in this village and their absence in other villages are interesting. It may be because this village is closer to the lake where the dragon god resides.

757 All these are individual measures of relief or precaution, but the most common and popular form of individual action is to secure "medicine" or "fairy water" from almost any source: temple, sacred spots, private individuals or dispensaries. We have seen some of the prescriptions, notices of charitable medicine, and moral advice posted for the benefit of the public. From the impressive quantity of such posters in the town and the villages and from the fact that many people secure the ready-made medicine given out

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freely to applicants we may infer that such doings are not idle anthropological curiosities. We shall now mention the "Fairy Water" from a rock about ten li northwest of Tali and about thirty li away from West Town. The rock with the "water" is called Chiu Nü Ch'uan (or Nine Goddesses Spring) which is situated in a temple called Wu Wei Ssu, (or Do Nothing Temple). All informants, among them several managers of the prayer meeting at Area E, testified to the author that the rock only produced "water" when there was an epidemic and was at all other times dry. As will be clear from the table showing the order of the prayer meetings, the one at Area E occurred at about the end of the epidemic, so when the several managers spoke to the author about this "water" they also pointed out: "You see, now the illness is lessening, so the water from the spring is about finished." Nobody, of course, ever went to check up on this tale. On account of some personal difficulties the author was not able to check on it either. During the entire epidemic this water was carried to West Town on pack horses and was sold at fifty cents a cup. People say that its effectiveness (both for prevention and cure) varies, but no one says that it is useless.

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One more fact is to be mentioned in this connection. At the prayer meeting in Area E, the managers (not the priests) gave expression to a novel idea which had not been seen anywhere else during the entire epidemic. The prayer meeting was held in an open square on one side of the street. There were the main altar, the middle altar and then a sort of gate with pine branches and couplets and two national flags. The street was still open to traffic, but just opposite, on the other side of the street, was built another altar-sort of structure. This was an artificial rock with tiny grottoes and elevations, "trees" and flowers in the grottoes and on the elevations: amidst its "trees" and flowers were various wooden, brass and porcelain images of gods and goddesses. (In the center was Buddha. There were two goddesses of Mercy, one wooden and the other porcelain) and dragons cut of paper. Attached to this structure were also several decorative couplets, and arches cut of paper-wrappers of fruit tins. The whole thing was evidently a hotch potch and formless collection created through a moment's fancy on the part of the worshippers. The interesting thing that concerns us here is the incense burner in front of the structure. From inside of this burner a continuous thin line of water welled up and shot into the air before falling into a receptacle on the ground. The device was perfectly simple. It was produced by fixing in the incense burner a tube which led to a barrelful of water on the second floor of the building behind the artificial rock. The water pressure is enough to produce this fountain-like effect. This "fountain" went on during the whole time of the prayer meeting and provided a spectacle for many curious men, women and children. The author was amazed by the following fact at first: One old woman approached the "fountain" with her young grandson. She took out a small cup from her pocket, received a cupful of the water and then drank some of it before letting her grandson finish it. She frowned a little after drinking the water. On being asked about the reason for drinking the stuff she said it was a "fairy water" and could guard its drinker against the epidemic!! The author afterwards noticed more women doing the same. Frankly, at first the author thought that the local people took a playful rather than serious attitude towards this rock structure with its midget fountain, but after observing behavior such as the above he has to modify his first impression. The similarity of the psychological background between the incense ash as medicine from certain temples (a common practice in the culture) is manifest. In a culture where a single almighty deity is inconceivable, any shrine put up by anyone enjoys a spiritual prestige unknown to the modern West.

arranged anti-choleric injections for all their faculty members and students, and advised especially the latter to refrain from careless eating. The attitude of these groups is that of modern science. In the meantime, the local hospital and the middle school put forth large notices advising the populace to take injections. The hospital at first gave any applicant free injections on the premises. Later on its authority sent out nurses to give free injections in the streets to facilitate matters, and made one injection an adequate dosage. The wife of a professor in the college who was a nurse before marriage also undertook to help and injected a number of local people. The local middle school and normal school posted large bills everywhere in the town. These bills were meant to be educative and were very detailed. One kind of pictorial posters shows the following: On one side are several street food stands retailing sweets, pea-curd, etc., swarming with flies. Several customers are seen eating these foods. On the other side of the poster are several people enjoying an open-air toilet, and several others vomiting. Flies also swarm on their stools and vomited stuff. The caption below the picture reads: "These flies in both places are the same flies and carry cholera germs from the one to the other."

Another kind of poster shows in large pictures the structure of a fly, and of the cholera germ, with detailed and scientific explanatory notes on how these germs may be communicated and by what means such communication may be prevented.

A third kind of poster stresses the absolute effectiveness of the anti-choleric injection. It reads: "In West Town, the mortality rate from cholera alone is now about two in every hundred. But all the 1,400 members of the middle school, the normal school and the primary school have been injected and have not had a single case of cholera infection among them."

A number of these posters were posted side by side with the notices and announcements of a number of cholera prayer meetings.

It will be in order here to put in a note on who among the local populace have taken the injection and what ideas they have about it. On account of the author's limited time and financial support in the research he was not able to make as he had desired a large-scale inquiry on all local people who have taken the injection. Among these he has personally talked to only about thirty. These include two carpenters of about thirty-five years of age, one fisherman of thirty-one years of age, three cloth dealers, one of whom did business in Burma, a Chen Chang (or head of the sub-district), a member of the gentry, about 55 years of age, a former primary school teacher in a village (now a trader), five students from the local middle school, a cook who runs the "bachelors mess" for faculty members of the missionary college, one woman of thirty-eight years of age, and others. At the outset it may be stated that most of these took an active role in, or contributed materially to, one or another of the cholera prayer meetings. For example, old Mr. H, the member of the gentry who contributed two hundred fifty dollars to the prayer meeting in the street where his family lives, two hundred dollars to another which took place in a street still further off, was a manager in one prayer meeting and a director in another. The author met him in the prayer meeting that took place at Area E where he was a manager and had a long talk with him. He showed the author his left arm and said that all his children and grandchildren had been injected at the hospital. He expressed to the author his firm belief in the efficacy of injection: but later on in the conversation he said that even after injection, one had better appease the spirits a bit. "Who knows which

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spirit one may have offended unintentionally after all," was his conclusion.

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A local boy by the name of Yang is the author's friend. He is eighteen years of age and a third-year junior middle school pupil. He was the tea-server at the prayer meeting in Area I and was most enthusiastic when the author inquired about the rituals of this prayer meeting. He had two free injections in the local hospital. He told the author that the hospital only gave one injection and that he knew the college infirmary gave three. He believed that the hospital was being economical and that one injection alone would be ineffective. So he insisted on having two, by telling the hospital people that he would pay for the second one if he were refused it. He thought that injection was the only way to prevent one from getting cholera, but working in the prayer meeting gave him a good time. "Besides," he said, "My parents want me to be at the prayer meeting."

The trader (formerly primary school teacher) mentioned in the above list, lives in a village south of the town and is thirty-six years of age. His mother is over seventy, and he has a wife and three children. His father recently died of cholera. At the time of the author's interview with him, the cholera prayer meeting in his village had just been over. All of his family members except his wife were injected. He firmly believed in the efficacy of the injection and told the author the following story to indicate the strength of his belief: At first his third son would not have the injection in spite of his persuasion. Then the boy became sick. The man then took the boy for an injection and some modern medicine. The boy was well at once. Paradoxically, he knows also that the injection is useless on a person after the cholera attack has already begun. He contributed fifty national dollars to the cause of the local prayer meeting and was one of its many officers.

Further detailed enumeration of all the thirty more cases is not necessary here. Though the cases studied are small in number and therefore from them a definite conclusion cannot be drawn, one or two impressions may be given. The author's primary impression from such a study is that the injection is another device against the epidemic, not the only device or even the most important one; it is a measure to be taken together with the other means of cure or prevention. To rely upon it alone, or any one thing alone, is thoroughly unwise. The cholera prayers are a thing that the community has always had and are a matter of course. For this reason the author found most of the children who (whether in school or not) were about the various prayer meetings had been injected, but most adults had not been injected. The parents do not mind having their children subjected to this novel device, but as for themselves, that is often a different question. It varies more with circumstances. The cook who with his wife runs the bachelors' mess for faculty members of the missionary college allowed his children and wife to take three injections at the college infirmary, but he himself absolutely refused to have anything to do with the latter after the first dose. He said "It is too painful." His wife went for the injections only under pressure of some of the members of the mess, who threatened to discharge her if she refused. She is usually more pleasant than her husband.

Very few local women have had the injection. The ones whom the author had the opportunity of asking mostly also replied, "It is too painful." The woman who is included in the above list of injected persons is a widow and goes to meetings of temple prayers and other similar functions regularly, but she is also very inclined toward the outsider's ways of life. She owns a part of the house which is the Women's Dormitory of the missionary college

and knows practically all the girls. She is particularly friendly with some of them and takes pride in her new friendships. Her taking of the injection has nothing to do with her old belief which remains as firm as before. [124] 751 757

In general, if not for special circumstances, the attitude of the adult population towards anti-choleric injection is not yet one of clear tolerance. The answer to the outsider's persuasion is often, "It is too painful. This is an easy refuge, which shows that the speaker in fact does not believe in its usefulness at all; for when there is need (as when a heavy illness like jaundice has befallen a person), most local men or women will not hesitate to allow native practitioners or quacks to insert long silver needles, whether in the cardiac or in the abdominal region.

But even the priests and their assistants may not be against the injection as a personal practice. During the epidemic an assistant priest (in ordinary dress) applied for an injection at one of the stations. The man in charge of the injection asked him what "methods" he thought most effective in preventing cholera. The priest replied that he did not definitely know. The man then told him that there were three ways, as follows: (1) to drink unboiled water, (2) to read the scriptures and pray to the spirits, and lastly (3) to take an injection. Knowing that the speaker meant to be sarcastic, the priest became angry and beat a hasty retreat without the injection. 751 757 578 184

This incident was related to the author by a friend who said that he was there when it occurred. The author cannot vouch for its absolute accuracy in all details, but if it did occur as related it shows once again the intrinsic and indiscriminate desire to rely upon as many measures of safeguard as possible. But it reveals also the well known attitude of modern medical officers towards traditional ways of life. This is an extreme attitude of ignorance and intolerance. In West Town during the epidemic there were three persons with full modern medical training. The man in charge of the college infirmary is an American surgeon from Harvard Medical School and a medical missionary of the American Episcopal Church. The superintendent of the hospital is an M.D. from a provincial medical college and considered to be very well experienced through years of practice. The third is a woman, who was also connected with the local hospital. She was trained in Peiping Union Medical College. She belongs to the "Little Flock" and says that she works in the backward place only because of her mission in converting more people to her faith. None of them knows much, or is even interested, about the traditional ways of solving life's problems in the locality. The lady is most zealous in her work of conversion. She could not talk to patients or anybody else for more than five minutes without touching upon the other party's wrong faith. Nothing else is right but her faith and her way of life. The superintendent of the hospital is an earnest soul, serious and meticulous in his practice and is genuinely interested in his role as a reliever of physical distress. He asks no more questions when his medical procedure is over. To him, the local anti-choleric prayer meetings are the absurdity of absurdities.

The American missionary was born in China and has been in China for most of his life. He takes some interest in Min Chia customs, but more in reading the limited published material than in actual contact with the local people. He speaks some Chinese and shows an amazing ability in learning the Chinese calligraphy. From what the author has seen of him and of his interests, he cannot say that the man really aims at a thorough understanding of

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the customary ways of the people among whom he is working. He knows patches here and there and has a way of jumping from one question rapidly to another, so that the questioned will usually have no difficulty in seeing the ephemeral nature of his interest in the things he has asked about. He and family live in a temple where one of the prayer meetings took place and lasted for three days and nights. His sister told the author that during the nights they (the family) asked them to stop the noise again and again in vain. Now, granted it is very unpleasant to have that amount of noise in the courtyard when one is trying to sleep, the objectors evidently had never given a moment's thought to the possibility that some villagers might decide to go to the missionary's church on a Sunday morning to ask the preacher to stop talking. (The author cannot tell whether the actual asking them to "stop the noise" took the crude form the lady described. The assumption here is that the medical missionary and his family did ask them in some way to stop the noise.)

The author has described the attitude of these three medical persons not with any intention of contempt or even any personal disapproval, but merely by way of showing how some representatives of modern medical science react in a rustic culture. And the matter extends way beyond these three medical practitioners. They show how very little difference there is between such an attitude and the general attitude of missionaries and other religionists towards the traditional ways and doings in any rustic culture in which they are working. The religionist's attitude may be illustrated by the public expression of the husband of the lady doctor in West Town. He and his wife both belong to the "Little Flock" and are the moving spirits of the group. He is a jewel merchant from overseas and speaks fluent English. He expressed himself very strongly in public regarding the epidemic: "If one can trust God (by prayer) and take precautions (medical) at the same time, then all is well and good. If however one has to choose between the two, I trust God and prayers alone." He takes no injection and condemns the local people thus: "What is wrong with the West Town folks is that they do not trust God nor take precautions."

D. The Gods have Answered the Appeal

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A few days before the last large-scale prayer meeting in Area E took place, rain began to fall. The general temperature suffered a sudden drop. During this prayer meeting the sky remained cloudy and rain was sporadic. From the day after this meeting was over torrential rain fell continuously for a week and the temperature dropped further. As the optimum temperature for choleric bacteria is somewhere around 27°C. and the temperature must not be too far below that when carried from one agent to another, the epidemic was thus over.(14) Another piece of irrefutable evidence of the efficacy of the main body of the traditional ways in dealing with Wen (epidemic) was thus firmly established in the memory of the local people. No local person ever mentioned a word about the drop in temperature and its relation to the behavior of the epidemic, nor was there any great discussion of the efficacy of the prayer meetings, of the taboos on food and on dirt, or of the native prescriptions. Most of these are taken as a matter of course and therefore not matters for reflection. Even the modern injection attracts no more

(14) "The association of high relative humidity with high temperature, accompanied by intermittent rains, forms the most favorable atmosphere for the development of the disease, and the presence of endemic centers from which epidemics may at any time spring, must also be accepted." (Manson's Tropical Diseases, edited by Philip H. Manson-Bahr, 1935, p. 439.) Also, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. Growth is arrested below 15°C. or above 42°C. A temperature over 50°C. kills the bacillus." (Ibid., p. 440.)

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speculation. As years go by and if the external influence continues its pressure as it does now, an increasing proportion of the local population will undoubtedly take the modern injection, but they will not necessarily withdraw their support from the measures embodied in their ancestral traditions and customs. The modern injection will then, in the minds of the local people, be ranked side by side with the prayer meetings, the many native prescriptions, the food taboos, etc., and be carried out and received in the traditional manner and not in that of the modern ways of science.

As the author travelled back from West Town to Kunming on a truck, he observed that in all towns along the road, and in Kunming itself, which the epidemic touched, prayer meetings similar to those prevalent in West Town took place. This fact shows that at least using prayer meetings to combat the epidemic is not peculiar to West Town.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

757 As stated before, all of the doings described in Chapter IV of this paper happened within the duration of the epidemic - about one month. Some occurred simultaneously. For example, the dates of several prayer meetings overlapped each other. And the prayer meetings were held as the volunteer prescriptions and moral advice spread. Some are supplementary to others. For example, the purification of the air by smoke, the cleaning up of the streets, the abstenance from meat and fish, and the disuse of the streams for washing purposes were all supplementary to the prayer meetings. They are means of avoiding the displeasure of the gods whose help is being invoked.

[744] Cleanliness, both public and private, as the modern world understands it, is not customary. And the relation of cleanliness to the avoidance of "choleric bacteria" is not at all conceivable in the culture.

[784] The taboo on a large number of vegetables and fruit may be said to be based upon sanitary ideas of a sort, but it is a sort different from what the modern man is accustomed to think of as scientific knowledge.

Closer to modern knowledge are some of the medicinal prescriptions. The analysis of their composition, as we have seen, shows that many elements would be effective in beating down the disease. But other prescriptions may be entirely useless or even fatal to the patient. The method of opening up finger tips to let out blood, for example, leads to bad infection and may render futile any application of modern treatment by serum. The drinking of the so-called "fairy water" from a cave in a hill is another alarming example. It may simply increase the rate of infection to a tremendous extent, and provide stimulus to such practices, as we have seen, as drinking unboiled water springing from an incense burner converted into a fountain.

The situation may be further analyzed, as in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM I

Measures resorted to	Expected or Unexpected Results	Domain of the effect
Taboos on food (potato, string beans, turnip, all sour fruit, confections, new wheat flour, fresh meat, fish, pumpkin, egg plant, etc.)	Ex.: "To please the gods" "To avoid making abdomen cold" Un.: Sanitation, or arrestation of the growth of the bacillus	Spiritual or Physical (the latter may be good or indifferent)
Taboo on dirt and animal and human soil in streets	Ex.: "To make the air and place clean for gods" Un.: Sanitation	Spiritual or Physical (the latter is definitely good)
Insistence on morals	Ex.: "To purify the heart and so please the gods"	Spiritual

Diagram I (Continued)

Measures resorted to	Expected or Unexpected Results	Domain of the effect
Prayer meetings	Ex: "To invoke the gods" "To ask them to forgive our sins", etc. "This is the proper communal way", etc.	Spiritual
Hanging cactus stalks, making hand-prints on doors, etc.	Ex.: "To stop ghosts from coming in", etc.	Spiritual
Medicinal prescriptions	Ex.: "To cure" Un.: Indifferent or defeating its own purpose	Physical (may be good, indifferent or bad)
Fairy water	Ex.: Cure and prevention Un.: Infection and death	Spiritual or Physical (the latter definitely bad)

Note: Ex. represents "expected results" while Un. represents "unexpected results".

As will be evident from a closer scrutiny of the data presented in the foregoing pages certain measures, though carried out for the benefit of the gods or spirits obviously also produce other results than the expected ones. And these results, from the scientific point of view, may either be good or bad or indifferent. The taboos on food, for example are for two ostensible reasons: to avoid displeasure of the gods (taboo on meat and fish) and to avoid "making the abdomen cold" (taboo on vegetables and fruit). The unexpected result of these taboos comes by virtue of two reasons: First, fruits are usually eaten without washing and peeling, while vegetables are often washed in the streams and then either eaten raw or not sufficiently cooked. By abstaining from most vegetables and all fruits the unsuspected result of sanitation is thus obvious. The taboo on fish and meat may produce a similar unsuspected result or it may be entirely irrelevent to the epidemic. Second, these taboos may produce an unexpected result on the prevention of the epidemic because of the behavior of the bacteria: According to Manson's Tropical Diseases, "The bacillus grows best in alkaline media at a temperature of from 30°C. to 40°C. . . Meat broth, blood-serum nutrient gelatin and potato are all suitable culture media." (p. 440)

Now, isn't it obvious that by abstaining from potato and meat the local people have attained a genuinely valuable measure of prevention? The unexpected sanitary result of the taboo on dirt, etc., is obvious and needs no more comment. The drinking of "fairy water" is traditionally an undifferentiated physical or spiritual measure. It may lead to results directly opposite to the expected ones. The prescriptions may either be effective cures or disastrous. The other measures, such as the insistence on "morals", the prayer meetings, and the hanging of cactus stalks and the making of hand-prints on gates, etc., are, as far as we can see at present, without direct physical bearing on the epidemic. However, as the prayer meetings are the center around which the majority of the taboos operate, it may be said that such prayer meetings are also responsible for the unexpected beneficial physical results coming from the various taboos.

The anti-choleric injection and other modern measures of sanitation, on the other hand, are without such root in the community. They have to come in by way of individual adjustments and not by way of communal transformation. It is this fact, the author thinks, which is responsible for the phenomenon that more children than adults have taken the injection. It is this fact also which is responsible for the circumstance that the older people are in directing positions in the prayer meetings. This fact also indicates that the modern injection will have to become another accepted way of doing things (whether it be magic or science as the outside observer conceives of it) in order to come into the community at all. For although individual adjustments may be comparatively easier to effect than a communal transformation, as long as the individual has to live and be a respectable member in the community he or she cannot afford to be indifferent or antagonistic towards the life, work and public affairs of the community. In such a case, individual refusal to participate in the communal undertakings means much more than an individual affair. The individual refuses to participate at the risk of being ostracized for by doing so he is thought to be endangering the entire community.

We have thus in a way reversed Professor Malinowski's position on the relation between magic and science. He took science for granted and conceived of magic as something secondary, to take up the places where science has failed. Professor Malinowski has lived and thought in the scientific era of European civilization, where magic in many spheres of life, such as technology and hygiene, is clearly distinguishable from the main body of knowledge based upon modern science. When we look at the matter from the point of view of the rustic culture the picture is entirely changed. For then science is no longer the general background; the background, usually a mixture of sound knowledge and magic, is cloaked under the local traditions and habits, while the clearly defined scientific ideas and usages from outside will have to struggle for a foothold, taking up the places where the traditional mixture of real knowledge and magic has failed and being woven into this mixture.

There is a further question to be answered. Can we say that, following Malinowski, if some of the practices (such as the prayer meetings) do not seem to have any obvious physical bearing on the epidemic, they nevertheless provide the individual and the community with a means to psychological stability to tide over the crisis? The answer, as the author sees it, is neither in the positive nor in the negative because, after the foregoing analysis, the question does not in fact exist at all. All the practices so far analyzed are traditional ways of meeting life's problems and situations and therefore undifferentiated as regards science or magic. The prayer meetings are as important as the taboos on food. The latter again are as important as one or other of the many medicinal prescriptions or the emphasis on "morals". Very often, to many individuals, all of these are again as important as the drinking of the "fairy water". That this is the characteristic mental attitude may be confirmed without difficulty in other walks of life. At a wedding, for example, the practices which we as investigators brand as magic (such as the custom that the bridegroom must face a certain direction when the bride's sedan chair comes in) exist side by side with others which we as investigators brand as real knowledge (such as the use of a sedan chair to carry the bride, or a particular way of displaying the dowry through the streets). On the Fifth of the Fifth Moon, a festival, each child or adult has some orpiment (As_2S_3) (mixed in water) smeared in earholes, nostrils and other vital parts of the body. This is to ensure that no worms or anything else should penetrate into the body through those openings. At the same time small brushes or mops made of

757 hemp dyed in different colors are hung on the body, to sweep away diseases throughout the coming year. Now, by chemical analysis we know that orpiment has disinfecting properties, and therefore the first practice has a scientific basis; but no science has yet told us the disease-cleaning property of a tiny hemp mop hung on the body. In the treatment of particular diseases we may observe the same thing. In West Town the traditional method of treating skin diseases, like scabies, is the following: (1) The women of the house, with the patient, go to a corner just outside the southern town gate and cook an afternoon meal in the open air. When the meal is ready the eldest woman, leading the patient, makes an offering of food and incense and kowtows with the patient in all directions. Some paper money is burned. Then the women have a meal together with the patient on the spot. (2) Before or after the above ritual the family prepares a kind of mixture consisting of Huang Lien (Coptis teeta, Wall or Radix coptidis, containing Berberin ($C_{20}H_{17}NO_4$)) and lard, and smears it on the sores. The idea behind the offering is that a Ku Nai (goddess) is in control of all cases of the disease and has to be appeased. None of the women of whom the author inquired could give any definite relationship between the medicinal mixture and the offering. Some women simply answered: "Here we also believe in this." (This refers to the medicinal mixture.)

813 Now which type of practice provides psychological stability and which does not? Can we say that the prayer meetings provide an emotional outlet for the people more than do the many medicinal prescriptions? Can we say that the direction in which the bridegroom is sitting is of greater psychological importance than the use of the sedan chair? Can we say that the smearing of orpiment on the body on the Fifth of the Fifth Moon comes from a different kind of reasoning than does the carrying of tiny hemp mops on the same occasion? And finally, in the case of the treatment of the skin diseases, can we say that the offering-picnic satisfies the people's spiritual want more than does the particular kind of local therapeutics? Or to put the matter more plainly, is the method of wielding an axe in order to secure fuel for the kitchen any less important psychologically than the matter of putting a string of coins on the main beam (to ensure peacefulness) in the construction of a house (the practice is prevalent in the author's home village in southern Manchuria)? The author fails to see the desired distinctions and must repeat the observation that both the "scientific" acts and the acts based upon false assumptions are traditionally standardized behavior and are hardly distinguishable as one or the other in the minds of the majority of the people. Even in such a crisis as the present epidemic, the West Town populace's attitudes as a whole regarding it and their means to combat it are highly formal. The demand for an explanation from the ordinary folk of the community meets again and again with replies which may be summarized in the following unreflective statement: "When there is Wen (epidemic) we have these prayer meetings. We had prayer meetings on such a scale once before, in the Seventh year of the Republic, when another Wen broke out in our community."

When there is an untraditional happening of momentum such as a bombing or enemy invasion the people may either treat it as a traditional occurrence (the inhabitants of Lu Feng, Yunnan, set up prayer meetings against bombing in the early stages of the Sino-Japanese War(15) or ran into an

(15) The author is indebted for this information to Dr. H. T. Fei, who came across the occurrence while investigating in the area.

APPENDIX

Part I

Three Prescriptions Locally Regarded As Most Effective

(1) Notice to the Public.

The present epidemic is, of course, pre-ordained in our fate. The symptoms of all patients appear, however, to be the same. These are vomiting, diarrhea, spasm, etc. These symptoms are those of cholera (Huo Luan, the modern Chinese translation of the term). The onset of the illness is a matter of a few minutes, and doctors (either Chinese or Western trained) may not arrive in time. From my personal experience, when illness comes, the best thing to do is to drink one small bottle (or half a bottle) of Bi La Sui or Sheng Ling Sui (both are forms of chlorodynum). At the same time take several tens of Mr. Ma Po-liang's Cholera Pills (Sa Ch'i Wan) (composition not known) and grind them into powder form. Put this powder on the tip of the patient's tongue and help the patient to swallow it with some boiling hot water. In this way the patient's illness will be half gone. Then you need to prick the Sa (a traditional term for cholera) and let out blood. Take first a thin hemp chord to tie each of the patient's fingers at the last joint. Use a needle to open up the flesh just above the finger nails and make them bleed. All fingers must be so opened, one by one. When blood has flowed out you will be able to tell the prognosis of the patient. If the blood is dark and thick the prognosis is bad. If the blood is fresh and thin the power of the illness is already slackening. In this way I cured my wife. I don't dare to be selfish and keep such a good cure to myself and have therefore decided to offer it to the public. I hope that this notice will receive the attention of all. It will be advisable for each family to purchase some of the aforementioned kinds of medicine (both liquid and pills) to prepare for a possible emergency. If there are poor people who cannot afford to buy such medicine they may come to my house, and I shall present them with some of the medicine. This is only an expression of a good will on my part. This notice is hereby respectfully presented to Elders, Uncles, Aunts and Sisters, with many best wishes for their health, by,

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Signed
(The 20th of the 4th Moon,
Lunar Calendar).

(2) Dehydrated potash alum (Alumen usta), one tenth of a Chien (about 3.1249 gms.), mix in boiling soup or water and drink; will cure instantly. Must not take rice or rice-water, or ginger. If one of these prohibitions is violated the patient will be hopeless.

From the famous physician in the army (not dated)

(3) Good prescription for emergency.

For vomiting, diarrhea, convulsion and cholera, the patient ought at once to drink the juice from boiling Elsholtzia Patrini Garcke (Latin) (Hsiang Hsu, Chinese). If the symptoms are augmented by fever and perspiration, add Lophanthus Rugosus (Hua Hsiang) to the boiling mixture.

(Neither signed nor dated)

PART II

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Drugs which Appear in Two or More of the Collected Local Prescriptions(20)

Lophanthus rugosus, p. 1888. Function: promote digestion, stop vomiting; effective for cholera, etc.

Alumen nata, pp. 694-696. Function: relieves fever, stops diarrhea; effective for cholera.

(Dr. F. P. Shen, Professor of Medicine at the National Yunnan University, says that the drug is effective for absorption and adsorption just as Kaoline, if used in proper dosage.)

Peel of Sweet Orange, p. 1684. Function: Absorbs water, promotes perspiration, stops diarrhea and vomiting; effective for cholera.

Glycyrrhiza glabra, pp. 342-343. Function: Strengthens muscles, relieves abnormal hot or cold gas in the chest or abdomen, neutralizes poisons from all sources, etc.

Bupleurum falcatum, pp. 844-845. Function: relieves gas in the chest or abdomen, promotes digestion, relieves fever; especially effective for malaria, etc.

Atractylis ovata, Thunb., pp. 1574-1575. Function: promotes perspiration, absorbs water, helps digestion, etc. Also: with several other ingredients can be effective for cholera (p. 1579).

Alisma plantago, or Water Plantain, p. 1693. Function: absorbs water and relieves fever, stops diarrhea and vomiting, etc.

Fermented Rice (for alcoholic purposes), p. 1038. Function: relieves gas, promotes digestion, stops vomiting and diarrhea, etc.

Pinellia Tuberifera, p. 307 and p. 313. Function: absorbs water, stops vomit, stimulates the circulation of blood; effective for cholera, etc.

Siler divaricatum, B. et H., p. 666. Function: absorbs water; effective as a mild drug to stimulate perspiration, etc.

Cyprus longus, pp. 935-936. Function: smothens gas, relieves pains from different sources, helps digestion, etc.

Realgar, Orpiment, p. 1386. Function: absorbs water, kills worms, neutralizes all poisons, etc. etc.

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(20) The properties of these drugs are quoted from The Codex of Chinese Drugs, edited by the Society for the Study of Chinese Drugs (chief editor: C. J. Ch'en), 1935, in two volumes. The World Book Company, Shanghai. Preface by Dr. F. C. Yen (President, Shanghai Medical College) and other notable personalities in both Western and Chinese medical fields. The number following each drug refers to these two volumes.

PART III

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Drugs in the Prescription which is Locally Recorded as Most Effective(21)

Perilla Hunkinensis (Benn), pp. 1209-1210. Function: dispels cold, relieves gas in the abdomen; also effective for neutralising poisons from fish or meat.

Pinn tuber, p. 1735. Function: absorbs water, stops diarrhea and promotes urination, etc.

Pachyrhizus angulatus, pp. 1484-1485. Function: stimulates saliva and relieves thirst, promotes perspiration and relieves fever; stops vomiting, etc.

Platycodon grandiflorum A.D.C., pp. 979-980. Function: dispels cold, relieves abdominal congestion, etc.

Magnolia hypoleuca, p. 816. Function: absorbs water, promotes digestion, relieves abdominal congestion; effective for cholera and sun stroke, etc.

Cortex areanarcae (Latin) or Areca nut bark (English), p. 95. Function: stimulates the flowing of water (probably absorption of or expelling water), etc.

Pachyma Cocos (Latin or Lycoperdon English), pp. 1056. Function: expels water, stimulates urination, etc.

There are altogether fifteen drugs in this prescription. The others are: Lophanthus rugosus, Alisma plantago, Bupleurum falcatum, Atractylis ovata, Thumb., Peel of Sweet Orange, Pinellia tuberifera, Cyprus longus, Fermented Rice (for alcoholic purposes). All of these drugs have been examined in Part II of this Appendix.

(21) In Part II, seven drugs have to do with stopping vomiting or diarrhea, and seven with absorption of water or stimulating the flow of water. In Part III, seven drugs have to do with absorption of water or stimulating the flow of water, and eight drugs with stopping vomiting or diarrhea. The rest, as far as we can see, are irrelevant for purposes of curing cholera.

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER XIX

YÜN CHOU TO TA-LI FU.

Watts-Jones's line across the Mekong—Theatricals at Mêng-lang—Wild pig and pheasants—The Mekong at Hsi-chang ferry—Narrow paths—Falls of our mules—A Chinaman's pipe—P'u-mans—Exploring a pass—Panthay villages—An Arabic koran—A midnight thief—The Kung-lang valley—Hot springs—Mêng-hua T'ing—An anti-foreign town—Iron mine—Ta-li Fu—Mr Amundsen's travels—No news of Ryder or Watts-Jones.

000 At Yün Chou we had found a letter left there by Watts-Jones. He had discovered a practicable way across the Mekong *viâ* Mêng-lang and Kung-lang, but there were some passes to the east of the latter place which he had not had time to explore. It was possible that these might prove easier than the line he had found, so we determined to examine them on our way to Ta-li.

545 After two days' halt at Yün Chou we set out again, and had a fairly easy march to the village of Mêng-lang. Here New Year festivities were still going on, and we were invited to a theatrical performance in the village temple. The young men of the village had got themselves up as elephants, lions, stags, storks, and other animals. The disguise was most crude, and the performance consisted of dancing uninteresting dances and turning somersaults very badly. However the villagers were quite pleased, and we expressed our delight and surprise at the histrionic talent of the place and rewarded the performers with some lumps of silver. I should mention that in places where there is no regular theatre, temples are the recognised places for theatrical performances.

000 Leaving this village the next day we passed some sulphur springs with regular covered-in bathing tanks.
● [757] These hot springs are very common in Yün-nan and are much resorted to by rheumatic people. Quitting the main